

c.3734

2975
582

A V E B U R Y³
I N
W I L T S H I R E,

The Remains of a Roman Work,

ERECTED BY

Vespasian, and Julius Agricola,

During their several Commands in

BRITANNY.

A SHORT

E S S A Y,

HUMBLY DEDICATED

To the Right Honourable

The Earl of *Winchilsea.*

by T. Swinney

L O N D O N,

Printed and Sold by Jos. DOWNING, in Bartholomew-
Close near West-Smithfield, 1723.





MY LORD,



Here offer to your Lordship's uncommon Judgment in the Antiquities of our Country, my new Notion of *Avebury Stones*; that whilst I enlarge on the Draught I had not then Leisure to prepare with Exactness, your Lordship may observe how I came by my Hints, and from what Authority my Conjectures are rais'd.

§. 2. As to the *Figure* I suppose the *Stones* at first to have form'd, I appeal to the Remains whether real or not, when compar'd with those of late Years taken away, so much to the Injury, and defacing the Order. But how long they have thus been the common Subject of Plunder, is difficult at this Distance to guess, after no less than four Villages, two Parish Churches, and a demolish'd Chappel, have in great measure, first or last, risen out of the Ruins of this single Work.

A 2

§. 3. For

§. 3. For the Fields being apt for Tillage, and such Plenty of Stones ready dug for Building, we daily lose Sight of a large noble Antiquity. None of our own Writers, more careful of Foreign Matters, have once endeavour'd to recover from Oblivion, or so much as guess, for what End so many Hands must be employ'd in Digging, Carrying, and Raising a Work, that took up such a Compass of Ground, and whose very Ruins strike us with Wonder and Surprize; and are, after all the Loss they have suffer'd, still a Match for any in our Isle.

§. 4. That it was undoubtedly of *Roman Original*, we have great Reason to believe, both from the *Coins* there found, and the Genius of a People, who spar'd no Labour or Expence in lasting Monuments of themselves, and their Conquests. But by whom in particular, and for what purpose Erected, we are still in the dark, unless two Passages in *Tacitus's* Life of *Julius Agricola* may help a little in this obscure unbeaten Enquiry.

§. 5. The first, p. 455. Edit. Lip. *Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi Auctores, oblonga scutula vel Bipenni assimilavere, & est ea Facies citra Caledoniam unde & in Universum Fama est transgressa. Sed immensum & enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam littore Terrarum velut in Cuneum tenuatur. Hanc Oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana Classis circumvecta Insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id Tempus Insulas quas Orcadas vocant invenit, domuitq;* Thus translated by Sir Hen. Savil.

§. 6. " The Figure and Fashion of whole *Brittanny*, by
 " *Livy* of the Antient, and *Fabius Rusticus* of the Modern,
 " the most Eloquent Authors, is liken'd to a long Dish, or
 " two edg'd Axe, and so is the Part shapen indeed of this
 " side *Caledonia*, whereupon the Fame went of the whole
 " as it seemeth. But there is besides a huge and Enorme
 " Tract of Ground which runneth beyond unto the
 " furthestmost Point, growing narrow and sharp like a
 " Wedge,

“ Wedge, this Point of the utmost Sea: the *Roman* Fleet
 “ then first of all Doubling discover’d *Britanny* to be an
 “ Island, and withal found out and subdued the Isles of
 “ *Orkney*, before that Time never known.

§. 7. The Sense and Substance whereof, I take in short for this: That at first our *Isle* was thought to form an *Oblong-Square*; but the *Romans*, by sailing round the whole, found it ending *Northward* in the Shape of a *Wedge* or acute Triangle, answerable to the Figure we have in Sir ^a *Hen. Savil*’s Annotations of like Angles with the Draught your Lordship was pleas’d to accept. That great Man there telling us from *Strabo*, *Aristotle*, and others, how the Antients, to render the Shape and Extent of Countries more familiar to the Fancy, often resembled them to something of common Use, as a *Cloak*, a *Sling*, a *Drum*, or the like. Wherefore, be the Conceit never so odd, taking the inward Range of Stones all along, without regard to the Circles at Middle and End, the *Avebury Circus* seems undeniably projected by the then thought Figure of our *Isle*, and consequently was designed to represent it.

§. 8. The other Passage I observ’d is, ^b *Agricola*’s Policy to civilize the British Rudeness: *Sequens Hyems saluberrimis Consiliis absumpta; namq; ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque Bello faciles Quietem, & Otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice ut Tempia, Fora, Domus extruerent, — paulatimq; discessum est ad delinamenta vitiorum, Porticus, & Balnea, & Conviviorum Elegantiam, idq; apud imperitos humanitas vocatur cum pars servitutis esset.* Or as render’d likewise by the Learned Knight: “ The Winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and political Device. For whereas the *Britains* were rude, and dispers’d, and therefore prone upon every Occasion to War, to induce them by Pleasure to Quietness and Rest, he (*Agricola*) exhorted them in private, and help’d
 “ them

“ them in common to build Temples, and Houses, and
 “ Places of publick Resort, ——— and so by little and little
 “ they proceeded to those Provocations of Vices, to sumptu-
 “ ous Galleries, and Baths, and exquisite Banquettings, which
 “ things the Ignorant counted Civility, being indeed a
 “ Point of their Bondage.

§. 9. Now I freely confess to your Lordship, 'tis to these
 two Places I owe my Notion of *Avebury*, collecting from
 the first, whence the *Circus* (the Name I distinguish it
 by) had its Figure, from the other, its Use, as that be-
 ing projected by the Form of our Isle here at set Times;
 certain Sports and Solemnities were held, to abate the
 Martial Rudeness of the *Britains*, perpetuate the Memo-
 ry of the *Roman Conquest*, and thereby awe a dispirited
 People from contending with those who had approv'd
 themselves so much their Superiors in the Field.

§. 10. To be more particular: From the *Intrenchment*
 surrounding the Place *Avebury* stands in, some will have
 it originally a Camp; but very unlikely, the Ditch be-
 ing there within, not without the *Rampart*, as in Works
 that are Military. Others, with more Probability, sup-
 pose it a Temple to *Bellona*; their Reasons I never heard.
 For my self, I take it to have been sacred, so far as
 Heathen Worship and Superstition may be so called, but
 to *Terminus*, not *Bellona*; and that Mr. ^c *Cambden* meet-
 ing with some such Tradition, was inclin'd to think *Sel-*
borough a Boundary, as he doth in his *Britannia*. My
 Grounds are these:

§. 11. As a Place of most Note, here the Assembly first met,
 here the Solemnities began and concluded. Hence, after
 the ^d usual unbloody Sacrifice to *Jupiter Terminalis*, they
 march'd with Ceremony along the double Range of
 Stones for a Mile in length, even to the Eminence o-
 verlooking *East Kennet*, then halted at the two Circles
 of

^c Camb. in Wilts.

^d Dion. Halicar. Lib. 2do.

of Stones one within another, ^c standing not long since intire. Some Remains of the Greater Circle are yet to be seen, as are the large round *Burrows* near and about it, that argue it a Field of Battle sufficient to have determin'd the Fate of more than one of our old *British* Principalities, so many *Burrows* being rarely found within the like Compass elsewhere.

§. 12. The Inhabitants have a Tradition, this was once a Place of Worship, as I verily believe it, the *Romans* here keeping their *Feralia*, in Memory of their dead Friends, when, after an ^e *Oration* in their Praise, how gloriously they fell, and sold their Lives to the Enemy, they crown'd the Stones with Garlands, and made their Offerings to the *Manes*, as we find in ^g *Hospinian*, on these Verses of *Ovid*, *Fastorum Lib. II.*

Est Honor & Tumulis animas placare paternas
Parvaq; in extructas munera ferre Pyras.
Parva petunt manes, Pietas pro divite grata est
Munere, non avidos Styx habet ima Deos.
Tegula porrectis fatis est velata Coronis
Et sparsæ Fruges, parvaq; mica salis.
Inq; mero mollita Ceres, violæq; solutæ
Hæc habeat media Testa relicta via.
Nec majora veto sed & his placabilis Umbra est
Adde preces posites & sua verba focis.

Then follow'd the *Ludi Funebres* (so nobly describ'd by *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Statius*) in the small Plain *Selborough-Hill* stands in; whither by turning to the Right, the other Range of Stones that helps form the *Cuneus*, conducted them cross the Current, to a Place by Nature so fitted to the purpose, the Spectators in the Amphitheatre had not a more advantageous Prospect than they, from the easie contiguous Risings on each side. And here only Oblivion

^c Add to Wilts.

^e Lucian de Luctu.

^g De Origine Festorum.

vion robs us of what had otherwise been very Entertaining, old *Greece* and *Rome* might have seen their Equals in all the Exercises both were so fam'd for.

§. 13. The Sports ended, and Victors crown'd, they return'd back by the Oblong Part of the *Circus* again to *Terminus*, thereby compleating the Day's Solemnity in circuiting the Isle in Effigie, and continuing their Claim to what their Valour and Success had given them a Right to. In this Respect exceeding even the most formal and splendid Entries at *Rome*; for there the Names and Images of the Cities and Countries, together with those of the Mountains and Rivers, (according to what we find in *Pliny* of *Cornelius Balbus's* ⁿ Triumph) were carried before the Conqueror; but here our Country represented after a much nobler Manner, made the chief Part of the Ceremony, and still remains a Trophy not entirely destroy'd in a Period of Sixteen Hundred and forty Years.

§. 14. My other Reason for *Avebury's* being at first a Temple to *Terminus*, is not only from its many inward Circles of Stones, and the Circular Intrenchment, so contriv'd, that the Vulgar from thence might view the Ceremonies, without breaking in on those that officiated; but chiefly because 'tis plac'd at the Head of the *Kennet*, the *River* that bounded the *Belgae*, one of the Nations conquer'd by *Vespasian*, whose Victorious March may give some Light to what I am upon.

§. 15. For that General having reduc'd the *Isle of Wight*, and penetrated with his Forces to our large Plains, he there found the *Britains* with theirs, as unwilling to part with their Liberty, as the *Romans* were eager to seize it. But after several hard Struggles, as the many *Burrows* on all Parts of the Plains witness, the *Britains* giving Way, the *Romans* pursued them cross the Valley to the opposite
site

ⁿ Nat Hist l. 5. c. 5. Rom. Antiq. Pancirol. Par. 1. Tit. 57.
18. c. 29. Alex. ab Alex p. 330.

site Hills, from whence having forc'd them, they form'd two Camps, one on *Martinsball*, the other on *Roundway*, near the *Devizes*, commanded by *Vespasian* and his Brother *Sabinus*, that attended him in this Expedition; both Camps, besides their proper Intrenchments, secur'd by a strong Line of Communication, now call'd *Wansdyke*, somewhat after the manner *Dion* tells us *Brutus* and *Cassius* encamp'd at *Philippi*. But whether *Wansdyke* was Originally call'd *Fossæ Vespasianæ*, like the ^a *Drusine* from *Drusus*, and in time melted into its present Name, I may not take upon me to say, tho' we want not *Etymologies* as unlikely and far fetch'd as this.

§. 16. The *Britains* having recover'd their Spirits and Forces, sufficient to hazard a fresh Encounter, shew themselves again to the *Romans* in great Numbers. When *Vespasian* considering, should they force the Lines, either Camp might be surpriz'd before timely Succours arriv'd, he resolves to meet them again in the open Field, where, from the Advantage of the Ground, great Numbers of the *Britains* are slain. The rest retreated cross the Stream, and making a Stand on the rising Ground, a fresh Engagement began, so much to the Disadvantage of the pursuing *Romans*, if the Event may be judg'd by the Number of *Burrows*, both *British* and *Roman*, 'tis hard to say which Side had the better in that Day's Action, allowing, what I take for granted, the large oblong *Burrows* to the South (whereof one Measures 120 Paces in length) to be *British*, and the *Tumuli* standing like *Haycocks* in the opposite Field, for *Roman*. Other *Burrows* there are on the same Plains to the West; these, I conceive, from their different Forms, to be *Saxon*, or *Danish*, or both, and much later in Point of Time, tho' all owing to Disputes for Liberty and Empire.

B

§. 17.

^a Trans Renum fossas novi & vocantur. *Sueton. in vit. Claud.*
 immensi operis quæ adhuc *Drusine*

§. 17. By this Time, we may suppose the *Romans* and *Britains* had such Experience of one another in the Field, both Sides contentedly came to a Treaty, that ended in an Agreement for the River *Kennet* to bound the *Roman Pale* Northward, in Memory whereof *Vespasian*, upon his quitting his Command, erects at *Avebury*, a Temple to *Terminus*. This *Agricola* made more remarkable, by adding the large *Circus* after the *Romans* had sail'd round the *Orcades*; where, in one of the Isles, is a Stone-Work to be seen, much like the Range from *Avebury* to East *Kennet*, as Mr. *Martin's* Draught shews in his Description of the Western Islands.

§. 18. Upon *Titus's* his Death, *Agricola* caused *Selbury-Hill* to be cast up for his Honorary Monument, as was afterwards done for *Severus*, at *York*; and *Constantius*, at *Selchester*; which the Soldiers, on a set Day in the Year, march'd about with Ceremony, as ^b *Sueton.* tells us they did for *Drusus*.

§. 19. These Honours, tho' paid to *Domitian's* Father and Brother, so ^c displeas'd that Monster, who would allow nothing to be commended but his own Vices and Deformities, he first recall'd, and then took care, as *Tacitus* suggests, to have *Agricola* dispatch'd by Poyson, surpassing even himself (*Dion. in vita*) in his barbarous Usage of those who had been his Father's and Brother's Friends, the Reward of Tyrants to those that serve 'em faithfully.

§. 20. Tho' the famous Insurrection under *Boadicia*, Queen of the *Iceni*, was owing in the first Place to the Dishonour done that Lady and her Daughters; the vast Numbers that join'd her, had other Provocation than *Seneca's* hasty calling in his Money he had forc'd them to

^b *Ceterum exercitus honorarium ei tumultum excitavit circa quem deinceps stato die quotannis miles decur-*

reret. Suet. vit. Cla.

^c *Insensus virtutibus princeps. Tacit. de Domit.*

to take: I mean, the great ^a Slavery and Subjection they saw themselves reduc'd to.

§. 21. The *Trinobantes* in particular, were ^o highly disgusted with *Claudius's* Temple at *Camolodunum*, and their intolerable Contribution to maintain, with the full Income of their Estates, the Priests and their Sacrifices, only to keep in Mind what was their greatest Disgrace and Affliction, to remember the Loss of their Liberty.

§. 22. Nor had the *Belge* less Cause of Complaint than they, from this Temple of *Vespasian's*, putting them to equal, if not greater Expence at the Solemnities, which they could not see with Temper, when they call'd to mind the Hardships they underwent (as before the Slavish Part was theirs) in halling such *Massey Stones* together; every single Stone resembling a Rock, and creating no easie Question to answer, by what sort of Engine it could be rais'd from its first Bed; for I have no manner of Notion of their being Artificial.

§. 23. Allowing therefore that Revolt to be general, as all agree, the *Belge*, by consequence, were a Party concern'd, tho' we should not, with the ^f Author of *Nero Caesar*, pick out *Salisbury Plain* for the decisive Battle, or fancy *Stone-henge* erected by the conquer'd *Britains* for *Boadicia's* Monument, where, especially in the last, he is certainly mistaken.

§. 24. But if this Temple to *Terminus* caus'd any Commotion at first, after *Boadicia's* Insurrection was quash'd, and *Agricola*, for the Use before intimated, had added the *Circus*, the *Romans* had no farther Disturbance from this Quarter, how full soever their Hands might

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^a Britannia servitutem suam cotidie emit cotidie pascit. *Orat. Gat. vit. Agric.*

^o Ad huc Templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi ara æternæ

Dominationis aspiciebatur dilectiq; sacerdotes specie religionis omnes fortunas effundebant. *Annal. Lib. 14. p. 251.*

^f P. 161, 181.)

be from others. The Fiery Spirits of the *Belgæ* being (as *Agricola* had projected) allay'd by the pleasing Diversions they were here entertain'd with, even to the Time of *Constantine* the Great, as the Coins and Medals found in the Fields do shew.

§. 25. I grant, another Cause might concur for keeping the *Belgæ* so quiet. The Country abounding in Corn, and proper Provisions, as the Campaigns ended, here the Soldier had commonly his Winter Quarters; here his Wife, Family, and Relations, without whose Knowledge and Discovery no Insurrection could well take effect. From hence have we greater Quantities of *Roman Coin* found in *Wilts*, than perhaps in any one County of *England* besides, lest, without dispute, by the Army, when called of a sudden into *France*, from whence they never returned.

§. 26. And now, should it be said, whilst I make so mean a Place as *Avebury* to rival of old even the *Olympian Elis*, and that the Sports here instituted for the Conquest of our Isle, were in Imitation of those by *Augustus* for his Victory over *Anthony* at *Actium*, I support my Conjecture with no Authority from History or Antiquity, where the Silence of both is against me. To this, I take the Answer not to be difficult.

§. 27. As for History, there's a Necessity of our being in the Dark, having lost so many Books of *Tacitus*, where, if at all, his Subject led him to mention it; as for *Suetonius*, it did not lie properly in his Way; and for *Dion. Cassius*, we have little more of him than the *Abridgment* by *Xiphiline*.

§. 28. Not to say that *Domitian*, recalling *Agricola* out of Envy, took Care to lessen him all he could, by not suffering his Publick Acts to be recorded for future Historians to enlarge upon. Hence *Dion's* Mistake, in saying,

ing, *Agricola* ended the War here in *Titus's* Time, when it was in *Domitian's*.

§. 29. And for Tradition, the Case is much the same, considering what Hands it must pass through. So long as the *Roman Power* lasted, the *Britains* were no Strangers to the *Circus*, nor the Sports they flock'd from all Parts to behold ; but being left to themselves, and forc'd into Corners, utterly ignorant of all Arts and Sciences, by the *Saxons*, they soon forgot the Places and Customs they had no Occasion to remember ; and the *Saxons* themselves could know little of, from a People whose Language they did not understand.

§. 30. Besides, the *Saxons* strangely delighting to ape the *Romans* in their Camps and Stations, and finding here the *Temple*, and *Circus*, plac'd in the former their *Idol Woden*, with such Rites and Ceremonies as were peculiar to their barbarous Superstition, which must take off from the Memory of the *Roman Usage*, after they chang'd the Name to *Wodenburg*, as they must, by the *Saxon Annals*, otherwise we shall be at a Loss for the Place where they tell us of the *Britains* worshipping *Ceanulin*, and of *Ina* and *Ceolwa's* Engagement with equal Success.

§. 31. Nor, all things consider'd, can we justly say, we have no Tradition to guide us in this Enquiry. The boldest Stroke, I own, is the unexpected making *Selbury-Hill* an Honorary Monument to *Titus Vespasian*, which yet, after a closer Speculation, may come to have another View.

§. 32. A *Saxon Work* belike it was not, not having a Place in their Annals with their Military Actions near it. *British* it could not be, the *Britains* being too much under the *Romans* to raise it ; consequently, 'tis of *Roman* Original ; and, not without probable Appearances, had *Agricola* for its Author.

§. 33.

§. 33. For that General having obtain'd a compleat Victory over *Galgacus* and his *Caledonians*, dispatches a * modest Account thereof to *Domitian*, by whose Orders, the Senate decree him *Triumphal Honours*. But he, sensible of the Emperor's Envy, and ill Nature, and how much it must expose his ⁿ Mock-Victory over the *Germanians*, chose rather to enjoy the Honour decreed him, out of *Domitian's* Sight, by erecting here the *Circus*, and celebrating the first Institution with the Ceremony of his own Triumph, whereof he made the deceas'd *Titus* Partaker, by his honorary Monument in the Place of Exercises; a Prince so generally belov'd, the *Saxons* call'd it *Selbourough*, i. e. Good Borough; and the Style leading to it, as I have been credibly inform'd, is call'd *Titus's* Style to this Day, tho' the Reason the oldest Man in the Village knows nothing of.

§. 34. Tho' the neighbouring *Beckhampton* is but a Village of small Appearance, its Name seems to discover somewhat of the Extent and Use of the *Circus*; ⁱ bac and on bæc importing the same as *Back* with us; whether we say it stood on the back of the *Circus*, or that they returned this Way back in Procession, both Senses are justified by the Etymology, how trivial otherwise it may look.

§. 35. In this Village formerly must live a Family of some Note. For by the Agreement 'twixt Queen *Mary* and Cardinal *Pool*, A. D. 1555, it appears to have had a free Chappel or Chauntry, till dissolv'd with the rest; and that the last Incumbent, *John Warner*, had a yearly Pension of 3 l. 19 s. 3 d. allow'd him, pretty considerable for those Times. By the Way, 'tis there wrote *Backhampton*, but the present Pronunciation is as before.

§. 36.

* Nulla verborum jactantia. *Vir. phum. Ibid. Agric. p. 465.*

ⁿ Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum è Germania Trium-

ⁱ Bac Saxonice tergum on bæc retrorsum.

§. 36. To the oblong Part of the *Circus* this Village joins, the *Romans*, I conceive, gave the Name of *Discus*, rather than that of *Scutula*, in *Tacitus*; not only because with *Scutula* it signified a *Dish*, the antient Shape of our *Isle* to the West; but is also in our Language a *Coit*, one of the Exercises here us'd. Hence the large Stones to the West, the Remains of the *Discus* now standing, are still call'd the *Devil's Coits* (*Gale's Iter.* p. 135.) a Term owing to the early Zeal of Christianity, both to discountenance all Resort to the *Circus*, (a Practice loudly decried by *Tertullian*, *de spectaculis*) and prevent the Damage such a Concourse of People must do in the Fields. Not that these two Stones were ever *British Deities*, as some Learned Men, without any Ground, have fancied; but a part of the *Discus*, as other Stones lying in the same Field do shew, to justify the Figure I have assigned the Whole.

§. 37. For *Avebury's* being a Temple to *Terminus*, its Scituation seems no small Evidence. The *Romans*, says *Herodian*, had two Ways of bounding their Conquests in *Britanny*, either by Rivers, or Ditches. The former is not only the most natural, but most lasting, as least liable to be conceal'd, or diverted. And the River *Kenet* being as before by Agreement the Bounds of the *Roman* Pale, to shew how far his Arms had prevail'd, *Vespasian* erects a Temple in the Nature of *Trophy* (as its Figure, Order, and Grandeur shews) to be like that of *Claudius*,^k *Ara eterna Dominationis*.

§. 38. Memorials of this sort were frequent with the *Romans* after a remarkable Victory, even sometimes to the Building Cities in or near the Field of Battle; so did ¹ *Pompey* in *Asia*, where he routed *Mithridates*; so *Augustus* at *Actium*, both called *Nicopolis*; and for the like Reason, besides others to be named; so *Vespasian*, this his Temple to *Terminus*.

§. 39.

^k Libenter scripserim arra inquit.
Lip. Not. p. 251.

¹ *Dion.*

§. 39. All shewing by the Way, at what a Left-handed Rate the Learned Annotator mends a common Text in *Tacitus*, by saying as he doth, that ^m *Profectis Romani Fæderis Monumentis*, should rather be read, *Prolectus Romani Generis Monumentis*, without producing any Authority but his own for so considerable an Alteration; as if *Tacitus*, by a Redundancy not usual with him, had only express'd the Rise of *Julius Sabinus's* unfortunate Attempt in a different Phrase from that he used just before.

§. 40. When all the while the Words seem plain, and the Sense obvious, as that the first Thing *Sabinus* did upon his being proclaimed Emperor, was the Demolishing all Monuments that implied a League with the *Romans*, or shewed their Conquests in that Country. No more than is seen in every Revolution, where the Weakest go first to the Wall, and popular Rage and Fury, as under *Boadicia*, begin with Temples, Trophies, and Statues, both to deface the Notices they were intended to convey, and by so sensible an Affront to those who erected them, engage the Party past all Hopes of a Retreat.

§. 41. But for *Vespasian*, besides the Reason hinted already, why he built here a Temple, the Principal might be, his worsting in the adjoining Fields the united Forces of the *Belge* and *Dobuni*; the Help of the latter, as next Neighbours, being called in to resist a Torrent ready to over-run both; as it did in the End, by his reducing these two Nations. ⁿ *Duas validissimas Gentes in deditionem recepit*, saith *Sueton.* of *Vespasian's* Conquests here; but whether he advanced any further directly Northwards, not finding the like Tracts of the Army's Marching in two Columns, and encamping separately as before, we have no certainty.

§. 42. The Camp, call'd *Barbara Castle*, further on the Hill, by your Lordship's exact Description, should be *Danish*, especially from the *Half-Moon* before the Entrance called the *Barbecan*, (whereof *Barbara* here, is only a corruption,) not an *Arabic Word*, as the Learned *Spelman*, in his Glossary, bus

^m Tacit. Hist. Lib. 4.

ⁿ In vi. a.

but from the *Saxon* • *Bæpan* Beacen, or Beacn, a Beacon, here standing, to give Notice of any Danger or Distress, as did the Work it self, to stop the Enemy coming up in a close Body. The like formerly before many of our larger Castles; witness the artificial Eminence near the Castle, now the County Prison at *Gloucester*, yet called *Barbecan-Hill*; the same at *Old-Sarum*, and what we have in *Stow's Survey* of *Baynard's Castle* in *London*.

§. 43. Wherefore following this victorious General by the *Roman* Encampments, he seems rather to have directed his March from hence to the East, resting after an easie Day's Journey in the Camp above *Wantage*, to be nearer *Aulus Plautius* the Generalissimo, and recruit his Forces, of Necessity wasted in so many sharp Encounters. But then what Rout he took afterwards, whether he turned to the Right, back for the Maritime Parts, and encamped after another Day's March in the large Entrenchment on the Hill above *Woodhay* in *Hampshire*; or on the other Hand, after an Impression on the *Oxonian Dobuni*, passed along the *Cotswold*, even to the Camp's overlooking the *Severn* (that gave rise to the *Legend* of *Gloucester*, having its Name from *Claudius*, and *Aviragus* marrying that Emperor's Daughter *Genissa*,) after so great a Liberty, I shall not take upon me to conjecture, since all the *Coins* I have yet seen found there, are of a much later Date, one I have by me of *Constantine* the Great, struck at *London* before his Conversion.

§. 44. One Thing I may not so well pass over, by none that I know of yet observ'd. On the high Hill just above *Leckhampton*, in that County, is a long streight Entrenchment running parallel with the Precipice; near the East-end, a small Mount of Earth exactly Square, and level at Top, surrounded with a small square Work, sufficient only to keep the Bystanders at a just Distance; this, I conceive, originally a Throne of Earth, customary, saith ^b *Dion*, with the *Romans*, and imitated by the *Brittons* when *Boadicia* deliver'd her long Speech to her numerous Army, we have in that Author.

C

§. 45.

^a Portare signum.

^b Vita Neronis.

§. 45. Allowing this Work to be *Roman*, in all probability, 'tis coeval with their first March thus far into the Country, where the Army resting, the General harangu'd them, either to return, or pass the large Valley 'twixt that and the opposite *Silures*, then full of Defiles from Woods and Morasses, which the poor conquer'd *Britains* were afterwards compelled to clear and cultivate, in the Manner the brave *Caledonian* describes to his Soldiers, ^c *Corpora ipsa, ac manus* (speaking of the *Brittish* Slavery,) *sylvis, ac paludibus emuniendis verbera inter ac Contumelias conterunt*. And not only this, but most of our low moorish Grounds throughout the Isle, by Ditches and Drains for the Water, Trees and Brushwood buried in the hollow Bogs, in digging often found to this Day, not as some imagine, without other Foundation than their own Fancy, that they are the Remains of *Noah's* Flood, but were here, as the *Romans* directed, designedly placed, to render the Ground fit for Pasture.

§. 46. After all, should my Account of this *Leckhampton* Antiquity be in any thing defective (as I flatter my self 'tis not much) I am the more excusable, having never seen it but once in my Life, and that whilst a raw Youth at *Cheltenham* School, under the worthy Mr. Jones, whom the late Dr. Hicks makes ^d honourable mention of, as one that, among others, had been remarkably helpful in Promoting his great Work of the *Saxon Grammar*, which upon his quitting the School, and retiring to his Rectory of *Leckhampton*, he might be at Leisure for.

§. 47. However, a Person he was no one that knew could give a mean Character of, for besides his indefatigable Care to instil into his Scholars true Principles of Religion and Loyalty, his Method of Teaching, especially *Latin*, which he spoke and wrote with great Elegancy and Command, made him generally admir'd, whilst for Learning, Candour, Humility, and primitive Piety, 'tis as hard to say in which he

ex-

^c *Vita Agric. in Tacit.*

^d Preface to Vol. I. pag. 46. Venerabilis canitiei vir Robertus Jones,

S. T. B. — cui debeo quantum homo homini potest.

excelled, as wherein he was exceeded. A small Tribute, I am proud of this Advantage to pay his Memory.

§. 48. To return to *Avebury*; no Journey to the Mind, tho' a pretty large Step to the Body; I conceive it continued in the Condition described all the Time of the *Romans*, to the coming of the *Saxons*; but they, a vain-glorious People, ambitious of arrogating all to themselves, here placed, as before observed, their *Idol Woden*, calling it from thence *Wodenburg*, as they did *Wodendyke* on the Hill, till Christianity prevailing, that nothing of Idolatry might remain, the Name was changed to its present Appellation, signifying a *Village* at or near the *Head* of a *River*, for so Mr. ^e *Burton* expounds the Word *Avon*.

§. 49. And now for that Part which forms the *Cuneus*, (the Shape of our Isle to the North, as thought in the Time of *Agricola*) by meeting from *Selborough* on one Side, and *Avebury* on the other, in a Point above *East-Kennet*, which the *Saxons* write *Cynet*, and *Cynetan*, from the *Latin*, *Cunetium*, whilst the Word *Kennet*, an Argument for its great Antiquity, seems rather from *Iken*, in the ^e *British* Language a *Wedge*, agreeable to the Conjecture of the *Iceni*, being so called, *quasi a Regionis formâ in modum Cunei Oceano incumbentis*; i. e. From the Country's butting out into the Sea in Shape of a *Wedge*.

§. 50. Hence the River rising within the Work, and the two Villages, all called *Kennet* to this Day; hence the old *Roman Cunetio* in the *Iter* standing where *Marlborough* now does, because built on the River that came from their *Cunetium*, a Termination they and others gave Structures of this sort, as the *Cimbrum* and *Colosseum* at *Rome*, the *Rhodians Ptolemeium*, and the *Serapeum* at *Alexandria*, to add no more.

§. 51. Having mentioned *Marlborough*, I shall add a Word or two on a Place whose Antiquity may deserve it. I make no doubt, that as the *Romans* called it *Cunetio*, its vulgar

C 2

Name

^e *Avon caput Fluminis.* Notes on cant *Britann*: Not. var. in *Cæs. Com.* the *Iter*. p. 176.

^f *Cuneum suo Idiomate Iken vo-*

Name was *Kennet*, till exchang'd for its present modern Denomination; taken not from *Merlin*, nor scarce from *Marle*, wherewith the Soil 'tis true abounds, as do other Parts of the County; but rather, by an easie Contraction, from *Martin le Burg*, a Church being here built and dedicated to that Saint, whose Feast is annually continued in a Fair to this Day, as one of the Parishes is called by his Name.

§. 52. Before the Year 600, ^z saith *Hospinian* from *Bale*, the *British Churches* were all dedicated to God and our Saviour only. But praying to Saints coming in Fashion, dedicating Churches to them followed upon it, by consecrating first the Ground, and then the Church it self, in the Manner the ^b Learned Mr. *Gregory* briefly informs us.

§. 53. First, the Bishop in his Habit, with Prayer and the usual Rites, consecrated the Ground set apart for the Purpose; then fixing a Cross of Wood on the Place designed for the Altar, an Anthem and Collect followed to the *Saint Elect*; the Ceremony for that Time concluding with the Bishop's crossing and laying the first Stone.

§. 54. But the Building finished, the Solemnity of its *Dedication* was more Pompous, and too ⁱ tedious to relate at large, after Superstition had got Ground of the purer Ages, when Prayer, with a Discourse fitted to the Occasion, was thought sufficient to appropriate a Place for Publick Worship.

§. 55. As for the Wooden Cross first erected on the Altar Place, that, upon dedicating the Church, was fixed behind the high Altar, having the Name of the proper *Saint*, of the Bishop that officiated, and of the Province or District the Place belonged to, on one side, with what King then Reign'd, and the exact Date on the other, to perpetuate the Memory of what is now lost and forgotten.

§. 56. For the Inscription growing old and illegible, and the Church rebuilt with Stone, this was neglected; as
Paint-

^z Hosp. de orig. Tem.

^b Notes on Ryd. review.

ⁱ Durand. Rat. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

Painting on Glass came in Use, that represented the whole with Advantage in the Window above it; whilst the *Saint's* Memory had a more lasting Care paid it; his Image of Stone being placed on the outside of the Church, either over the Entrance, or where it stood most in View, and out of Reach, as the empty Nitches still shew, though for the generality the Images are gone.

§. 57. Which calls to Mind what I once heard in *Oxon*, how that after the Surrender of the Garrison to the Parliament, a common Soldier, according to the Zeal of those Times, levelling his Musket at the Image standing over the most usual Entrance into *St. Marie's*, declar'd (swearing was not their Crime) he would shoot the Whore and her Bastard, and giving Fire, his Piece burst much to his hurt, if not Death. This Story, I declare, I do not invent, but relate as I had it. It might, I own, be accidental, or not true, considering neither *Mercurius Aulicus*, nor *Rusticus*, give any hint of it. On the other Hand, if it had any Truth in it, we may conclude, no Care was wanting to suppress and discredit it, till it sunk by degrees into an old Wives Tale.

§. 58. As for our *British Churches* not being dedicated to any *Saint* before the Year 600, it may well be objected, that besides the *Basilica sanctorum Martyrum*, erected, * says *Bede*, upon the ceasing of *Dioclesian's* Persecution, he particularly mentions *St. Martin's Church* in *Canterbury*, saying, it was not only built and dedicated to *St. Martin* in the Time of the *Romans*, but that it was in this Church *Austine* and his Company met to worship God at their first coming hither; wherein he is so fortunate, I find not a Writer of any sort in the least disputing the Truth of what he says. Therefore ¹ *Harding*, ^m *Parsons*, and others of that Communion, had reason to make it an Evidence for the early Date of their Doctrines here, whilst standing up for the Dependence of our Church upon theirs.

§. 59. Which, though an Argument of small Weight in it self, yet because of the Use 'tis applied to, I shall briefly consider

* *Bede Eccl. Hist. Lib. i. Cap. 8. & 26.*

¹ *Hard. against Juel.*

^m *Par. Hist. of the 3 Conver. P. i. c. 10.*

sider whether it admits not of a different Answer than is yet given, or rather, whether *Bede* is not mistaken in his Report, notwithstanding the many Vouchers on his side, even among our selves

§. 60. That the Church called *St. Martin's* in *Canterbury*, was actually built in the Age *Bede* bespeaks it, there is great Reason to conclude, the *Chancel* especially, as Mr. ⁿ *Somner*, an excellent Judge, tells us, being mostly built of *British* or *Roman* Bricks, the noted *Relicks*, says he, or *Tokens* of old Age in any kind of Building, whether sacred or prophane. And so far indeed it may owe its Original to the Times of King *Lucius*; but dedicated to *St. Martin* it could not be in those Days, *Lucius* dying more than a Century before the Saint was born.

§. 61. Nor indeed could it well be so dedicated whilst the *Romans* were here inhabiting, according to *Parsons* himself. For he tells us positively, the *Romans* quitted our Isle about the Year 400, the very Year, if not two, before *St. Martin* died, or at most, but nine Years after, by ^o *Bede's* own Account, (and even till then, say ^p some, *St. Martin* lived,) when they were in too much Confusion to regard Building, and dedicating Churches in a Country they were daily deserting, by drawing off their Forces to stop the Incurfion of the *Goths*.

§. 62. To put this Matter past a Doubt. It was not only many Years after the *Romans* quitted our Isle, Churches began thus to be dedicated; but as many at least, before any Church could fall to *St. Martin's* share. For that which gave him the general Reputation of a *Saint* was, the History of his Life artfully written by his Disciple and great Admirer ^a *Sulpicius Severus*, describing the vast Respect shewed him, and the Multitudes which flock'd about him on the Score of his Miracles, wherever he came; his raising the Dead, casting out Devils, healing all Diseases, and the like, wherein he is ^z so punctual, he omits not his
com-

ⁿ Antiq. Cant. p. 65.

^o Chron.

^p Not. ad Sulpic. Dial. p. 554.

^a Pag. 507.

^z Sulp. Sev. p. 556.

commanding some Water Fowl to the Woods, for preying on the Fish in the River; made a mad Cow as tame as a Sheep; and would not suffer a Pack of Dogs to touch a Hare they had hunted down: Yet at the same time, not a Word of any Church dedicated to him, nor of his Fame spreading in our Isle. Nay, he complains the *French* Clergy were such Strangers to the Merits of this Good and Holy Man, that he had ^a many Enemies and Detractors, even among his own Order, whose Reflections he sets himself in more Places than one to wipe off and retort.

§. 63. Now, may it be conceived, that a Person, whose Character was industriously struck at in the Country he had spent the greatest Part of his Life in, should at the same time so strangely get the Start of himself in another, to have Churches dedicated to him even before his Death, or immediately upon it, contrary to the Custom of that Age, and all the preceeding. Wherefore, in short, here must be either a Fault in *Bede's* Copy, by the Words *in Honorem Sancti Martini*, creeping from the Margin to the Text, or that this Church in *Bede's* Time, as it was long before, being called *St. Martin's*, he set it down just as he was informed, whence has sprung an Error, needs no farther Evidence for its being such, since so easie to shew how it came by that Name, and when so called at first.

§. 64. For *Ethelbert*, the Pagan King of *Kent*, ^b marrying *Bertha*, Christian Daughter of *Clotharius* the first, saith *Godwin*, of *Chilperic* (Somner) King of *France*, ^c one Article of Marriage was, the Liberty of her Religion in this Church, fitted up for her Use, where her Chaplain *Luithard*, a *French* Bishop she brought with her, officiated.

§. 65. This Indulgence in a Pagan was, we may reasonably believe, what chiefly inclined Pope *Gregory* to send hither *Austin* the Monk, who having converted the King, dedicated the two old Churches he found in *Canterbury*, one to our Saviour, well known by the Name, *Christ's* Church, and this to *St. Martin*, to complement the Queen with a Saint
of

^a Sulp. Sev. 494, & 540.

^b Godw. Cat. Somner Antiq.

^c Vide Brampton Jervas. Thor. inter Decem scriptores per Selden.

of her own Country, who, as Christianity prevailed here, grew into such Credit, scarce a City or Town of Note but had one Church at least bearing his Name, and under his Patronage.

§. 66. Being on the Subject of *Saints*, I hope I may the sooner be dispensed with, should I take a little Notice of what ^a Lord *Verulam*, and others, say of *Hen. VIIth's* great desire to have had his Predecessor *Hen. VIth* Canonized, only he loved his Money too well to give the Pope's Price for it.

§. 67. I have at this Time before me a pretty large *Breviary*, or Manual, called at the End (for the *Title Page* and *Kalendar* are wanting,) *Mattyns* of our Lady. It did once belong to one *Laurence Man*, Chantry Priest, as he writes himself, of *Hungerford's* Chantry, and was Printed at *London* by *Wynkin de Werde*, in 1515. Besides Gospels, Prayers, a Litany and Offices in *Latin*, it has several Prayers with their Rubricks in *English*, as is the Index to the whole. Amongst the *Latin*, I find a distinct Office to *Hen. VI.* for Deliverance from the Plague, and such like Distempers, whereof let this suffice for a Taste of the Devotion of that Age. The Hymn begins thus:

Rex Henricus, sis amicus nobis in angustia,
Cujus prece nos a nece salvemur perpetua.

With six Verses more, much to the same Sense and Tune. Then follows: V. *Ora pro nobis devote Rex Henrice. & Ut per te cuncti superati sint inimici. Oremus.*

Præsta quæ sumus Omnipotens, & misericors Deus, ut qui devotissimi Regis Henrici merita miraculis fulgentia, pia mentis affectu recolimus in Terris, ejus & omnium sanctorum tuorum Intercessionibus ab omni peste, febre, morbo, ac improvisa morte, ceterisque eruamur malis & Gaudia sempiterna adespici mereamur per.

To this I may add that in the Litany 'twixt St. Oswald and St. Martin, I find *sancte Henrice, ora pro nobis.* Which not being in the *Paris Breviary* of 1552, nor in the *Plantin*

^a Hist. of Hen. 7. Fuller's Ch. Hist. &c.

Plantin Edition of 1621, makes it more likely to be our *Henry*, than *St. Henry* the Emperor.

§.68. But be this as it will, we are certainly somewhat in the Dark as to this Matter, ^a *Bellarmin* laying it down for Doctrine, that tho' at first every Bishop took upon him to *Saint* whom he pleased in his own Diocese, and allow his People to pray to them, and celebrate their Festivals immediately from their Deaths; yet, says he, by reason of the Abuses that followed, *Alex.* 3. and *Innocent* the 3^d, expressly forbid it, requiring none to be taken for *Saints* without Authority from the *See* of *Rome*; to which we know at that Time *Henry* the VIIIth was too much devoted, to suffer the Discipline openly to be broke in upon. For though ^b in Private, every Person had liberty to pray to what departed Friend he pleased, even in the hearing of others, their Names were to have no Place in their Liturgies and publick Offices without Canonical Authority. And thus I leave this Matter as I found it, to proceed to what I was upon, *St. Martin's* in *Marlborough*.

§.69. If any one shall say, that *De Sancto Martino*, one of those came over with the Conqueror, founded this Church of *St. Martin's*, and that, in Honour to his Name-sake and himself, he exchanged the old Name of the Town for the present, I shall not contend with him; because if that *De Sancto Martino* had not the Government, not to say the Propriety of the Town and Castle, by a Grant from the King, he, or some of his Family, had a large Mansion-House or Castle, within few Miles of *Marleborough*, whose Ruins are yet to be seen on *Martinshall-Hill*, that took from thence the Name 'tis still known by.

§.70. *Daniel* and others, in the Life of *Edward II.* tells an odd Story of one *Rich. St. Martin*, a most deform'd shapeless Wretch; yet so agreeable to the Countess of *Lancaster*, she ran away with him from her Lawful Husband *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, and Grandson to King *Henry III.*

D

suf-

^a De Ecclef. Triumphant. Lib. 1.
Cap. 8.

^b Caran. Cas. Conscient.

suffering him to claim her for his Wife, together with her Noble Inheritance, the *Earldoms* both of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, on the Account of the Liberties betwixt them before she married the Earl; which, to further the Matter, she voluntarily confesses.

§. 71. Now allowing *St. Martin* Owner of *Martin's-Hall* (as without any Absurdity we may, being a Knight :) till his Claim was decided, he might fortifie this remote obscure Seat for the Countess to retire to; having first stollen her from *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, and carried her to *Rygate*, under the Protection of *E. Warren*, to whom he was a Retainer; which has led some *Writers* into the gross Mistake of saying, 'twas that Earl who stole her.

§. 72. As the Countess and *St. Martin* were on their Journey, betwixt *Hulton* and *Farnham*, at a Distance appeared some Parish Priests and their People, going in Procession, being the Rogation-Week, with Banners displayed, and singing the usual Service; which so frightened their Guard, supposing it the Earl of *Lancaster* come to rescue his Lady, they all fled, and *St. Martin* among the rest; in that Consternation, they could scarce sit their Horses, but left the Countess in a manner all alone; till perceiving the Mistake, they returned, boasting of their Valour, had any Party oppos'd them.

§. 73. The Countess's leaving her Husband in the manner she did, made a great Noise all over *Europe*; not only that a Lady of the first Quality should prostitute her self to a *Lame Crump-back'd Dwarf*, but that the King himself had so little regard to the Honour of his own Blood, as to be the chief Person supported it; otherwise, a Man of *St. Martin's* Condition durst not thus abuse the greatest Peer of the Realm, possess'd of no less than *five Earldoms*. Wherefore, it may not be improper to consider what provoked a Crown'd Head

* Hews.

* Misere Stature, *Claudus & Gibbosus*. Nic. *Twist*. continuat. p. 21.

* *Lancaster*, *Darby*, *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, *Salisbury*.

Head to an Act so much beneath him ; and whereto all the Calamities that afterwards beset him were visibly owing.

§.74. The Persons rul'd the Roast at that Time, were the *Spencers*, who, from *Gaveston's* Fall, had Reason to mistrust their own Safety, unless they could remove this Popular Earl, or reduce him in his Fortune, which was really too great for a Subject, by being the common Refuge for the ^f *Disaffected*. The King, they well knew, would come readily into any Measures to the Earl's Prejudice, on the Account of *Gaveston's* Death, which he immediately ^g *swore* he would Revenge, and not rest till he had brought about ; and now by Supporting this scandalous Claim, whereby the Earl must lose the vast Estate the Countess brought with her, he concluded he should make him less formidable for the future.

§.75. But how far this took effect, we are much in the Dark, ^h *Broke* saying, the Countess settled all her Lands of Inheritance on the Earl, and his Heirs for ever, not unlikely, to atone for her Elopement, upon the Reconciliation made by the two Cardinals, between the King and the Earl ; so that they met and embraced, to outward Appearance, as perfect Friends ; but in reality far otherwise : For soon after a Knight is taken, hang'd, and his Head set on the Top of *Pomfret-Castle*, going to the King of *Scots*, with Letters, sealed with our King's Seal, for Murthering the Earl. So say our Writers, without giving us the Knight's Name, or any further Account of him, only the Continuator of ⁱ *Trivet's Annals*, from whence *Walsingham* had this Story, as others from him, says, he had been just before in the Earl's Family.

When, all Things rightly considered, the Person thus Executed, seems the very *St. Martin* that stole the Countess, not only from our never hearing more of him afterwards,

D 2

^f Daniel.
^g Grafton.

^h Y. Herald.
ⁱ P. 24.

terwards, nor indeed of the Countess, unless that after the Earl of *Lancaster's* Death, she married two Husbands, but neither of them *St. Martin*, as that beginning to despair of his Purpose upon the King and Earl's Reconciliation, he consults with the *Spencers*, for dispatching the Earl, and securing the Countess to himself by means of the King of *Scots*; whose Assistance, as the fittest Person, he is sent with Letters to solicit. But travelling too near *Pomfret*, his Deformity betrays him, he is known and apprehend for the Person who had done the Earl such Dishonour, and without more ado, to shew what a Mortal the Countess had chose for her Paramour, Executed in the manner he was.

§.76. Nor is there any thing in the Annals I cited, lately Published at *Oxon*, by the most Learned Dr. *Hall*, expressly contradicting what is here advanced; for as that Author doth not name the Person Executed at *Pomfret*, calling him only *Quidam Miles*, as he had *St. Martin* before; so it seems plain he meant him, from his having said before, that though *St. Martin* was so much transported upon the Prospect of the Countess's Fortune, yet, as he adds, ** Sed in cassum prout rei gesta sequentia plenius explanabunt*, without the least Instance afterwards, whereto that his Saying may be applied, except to the *Pomfret* Execution. And for the Person thus Executed at *Pomfret*, having been just before one of E. of *Lancaster's* Domesticks, that I conceive a further Evidence it was *St. Martin*, who (though a Retainer to E. *Warren*, a Man deep in the Plot against the Earl of *Lancaster*,) might be introduced by the Countess, as *Deirham* long after by Queen *Cath. Howard*, both for renewing their former Liberties, and the better to accomplish the Design in Hand, which enabled him, as Steward of the Household, or in some such Office, to invite the neighbouring Gentry, as most impudently he did, to Witness his first laying Claim to the Countess for his Wife; which inclines

inclines me to fancy this new Conjecture not without just Ground, but rather making the imperfect Account more probable and consistent than hitherto.

§.77. For otherwise, how strange must it look, for a Subject publickly to seize the King's Packet, open his Letters, under both the Great and Privy-seal, and then hang up the Messenger going in his Master's Business to a Neighbour Prince, without any Authority, or Legal Process. Most likely therefore, St. *Martin* falling so unexpectedly into the Earl's Hands, nothing less than Death would satisfy his just Resentment, which the *Spencers* took care afterwards to retaliate at the same Place, and partly perhaps, for the same Reason, though not with like Ignominy. For,

§.78. The Earl of *Lancaster* perceiving his Honour, Estate, and Life, all struck at daily by by the *Spencers*, joins the Barons, to procure their Banishment; and upon their return without leave, betakes himself again to Arms, in hopes of the former Success against *Gaveston*; but here Fortune left him and his Friends, for his great Confederate, the Earl of *Hereford*, is slain in the Field, himself taken, and Beheaded before the Walls of his own Castle of *Pomfret*, his Sentence pass'd by the King, the *Spencers* and others there sitting in Judgment upon him.

§.79. The Fall of this great Earl, which the King ^m saw and lamented, when too late, was the certain forerunner of his own; for so long as he liv'd, his Interest in his Country, by reason of his vast Estate, was a constant Curb upon the Ruling Favourites; but after *Hereford* slain, himself and all the Leading Men of that Side sent as it were by Wholesale out of the Way, (an Instance, saith *Daniel*, without a Parallel since the Conquest,) their unbounded Mismanagements so lost the Sovereign the Hearts of his People, he fell more helpless and unpitied than may well be imagined.

§.80. Consi-

§.80. Considering that he was a Prince far from the ⁿ *worst* of Men, only very unhappy in the Choice of his Favourites, and the more, because that after they had made themselves but too justly obnoxious, he did not stick endeavouring to screen them, though with the Hazard of his Crown : An Argument, however, of his great Constancy to his Friends, beyond what is common, where Interest is at stake, and shews him not of that easie, flexible Temper, some have represented him ; who had certainly given us his truer Character in two Words, by saying he was *Weak* and *Wilful*, Dispositions too frequently meeting in the same Person. All which is here designedly put together, though another large Digression from my Subject, for something of a better Light into this dark unhappy Reign, than generally we have from many of those that have made it their Subject.

§.81. But for St. *Martin*, how contemptible soever he might be in his Person, or otherwise, the Family were long in Repute, and faithful to the Crown, even to the 4th of *Richard* II^d. when *Laurence de Sancto Martino*, (^c Sheriff of *Hans*, 48 *Edm.* 3^d.) was Sheriff of *Wilts* the Year very probably he dy'd, and was succeeded by *Hugh Cheyne*, who is nam'd Sheriff for that Year with him.

§.82. Thus has your Lordship my Thoughts of the *Avebury* Antiquity, and what else by the Way has fallen in, in as narrow a Compass as I could well express them, being unwilling to make too bold with your Lordship's Time, in perusing what I fear may not deserve it. For a Work of this Nature to merit Regard, the Undertaker ought to have the Conversation of the Curious, with a choice Collection of uncommon Books, rarely seen out of a publick Library, at least not falling in the Way of my solitary Retirement. However, if my Attempt gives your Lordship the

ⁿ Juvenis non improbus. *Pol. Virg.*
lib. 18.

^c Vid. List in Fuller's *Worthies*.

(31)

the least agreeable Entertainment, I have my End; if not, the Satisfaction of sincerely endeavouring it, on a Subject too remote to effect the Publick Tranquillity, or expose any one but my self, in what is here offer'd to your Lordship with all Submission by,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most Obedient

and most Devoted

Humble Servant,

T. Twining.



the least agreeable Entertainment, I have my Lord's
the Satisfaction, I have my Lord's
not too remote to effect the same, and
any one but my self, in what is here offered to your Lordship
ship with all Submission by

My Lord,

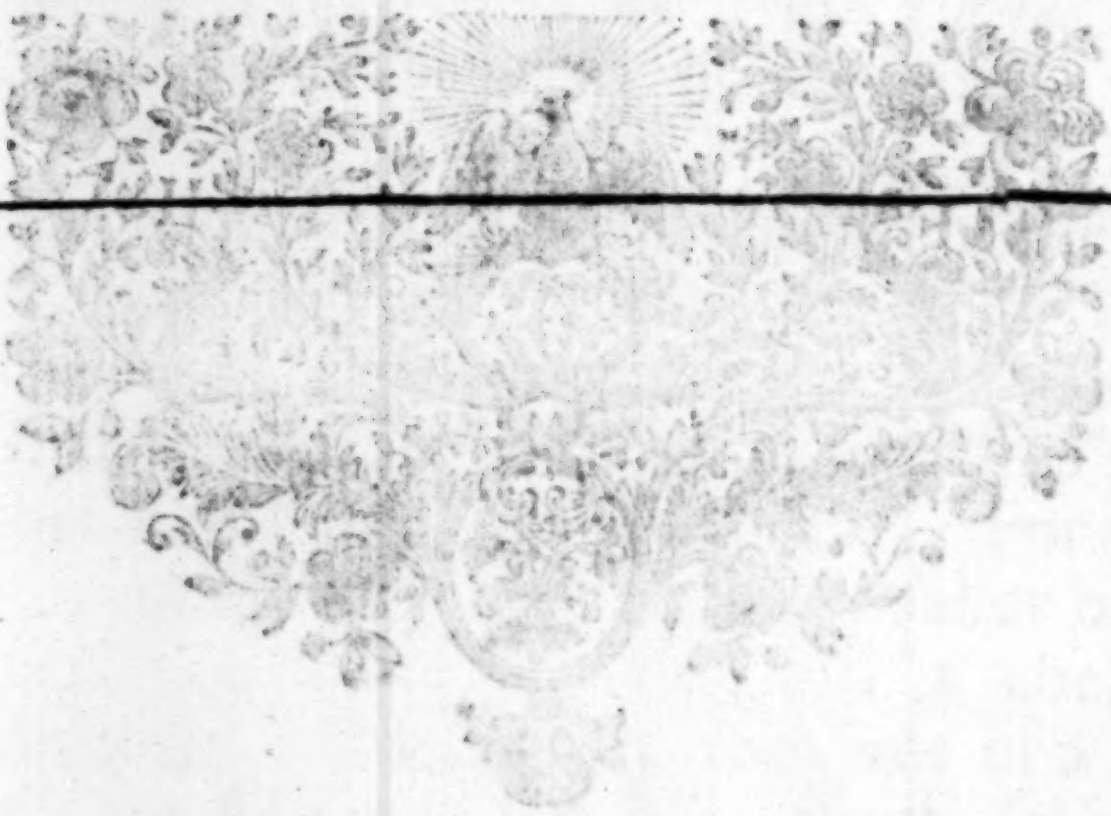
Sabinus and Epponina.

T O

The Right Honourable

T H E

Countess of *HARTFORD.*



Having in these Papers made mention of Julius Sabinus, I here add his remarkable Story from the Authors referred to.



AFTER the * short turbulent Reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, had so disordered the Empire, the longest Sword was thought the best Title, Julius Sabinus, the Gaul, was one of those who put in for the Prize, giving out, how he was in a Right-Line descended from ^b Julius Caesar, by a criminal Acquaintance that great Man, and universal Admirer of the fair Sex, had with his Great Grand-mother, during the Time of his *Gallic Expedition*. His Estate and Interest in his Country were considerable enough to raise ^c a huge Army, that proclaim'd him Emperor; but being only a raw undisciplined Multitude, they were ^d soon dispersed by the Regular Forces which came against them.

§. 2. His Disappointment, tho' great, was the more uneasy and afflicting, by reason of his ^e Wife, a rare Example of Courage and Constancy, whom he lov'd too passionately to leave behind him, and yet too tenderly to make the Companion of his Flight. Therefore, for his present Safety, till the Storm was a little over, he thinks of an Expedient, that renders him not less Memorable, than had his vain Ambition at first succeeded. For taking leave of his Friends, and telling them his Resolution not to survive his Disgrace, he repairs to a Country Seat, which had certain private Rooms under Ground, known only to himself, and the two Servants of all his Retinue he suffered to attend him. Here, in the first Place,
E he

* But a Year and 22 Days, saith Dion, from the Death of Nero to the Reign of Vespasian.

^b Sabinus super instam vanitatem falsæ stirpis gloria accendebatur, proaviam suam divo Julio per Gallias

bellanti corpore atq; adulterio placuisse. *Tacit. Hist. Lib. 4.*

^c Magna & incondita popularium turba. *Ibid.*

^d Fortuna melioribus affuit. *Ibid.*

^e Plutarch.

he commands the ^f Buildings to be fir'd, and that done, dispatches *Martial* (so was one of them nam'd) with word to his Lady, that having drank a Glass of Poison, he threw himself into the midst of the Flames, for his Funeral Pile, where his Body was soon consumed with the Edifice. Intending by this Tragical Account, that her Grief at his Death might stifle any Rumour or Suspicion of his being alive, as accordingly it did.

§. 3. For the poor Lady no sooner heard the dreadful News, than throwing her self on the Ground, spent there, without once Eating or Drinking, ^e three Days and Nights in the loudest Complaints Sorrow could express. This told *Sabinus*, and he sensible how much her Life was in Danger, orders *Martial* privately to let her know he was still alive, and where concealed; but conjure her as yet to continue her mournful Disguise, least a sudden Alteration beget a Discovery. She was too well acquainted with Grief not to act it to the Life in all the Shapes of its being real, whilst so dear a Pledge was at stake; but would not be satisfied till conducted to him, as she was most Nights undiscovered, for seven Months together.

§. 4. Then, in hopes of a Pardon, she ⁿ carries him to *Rome*, but so artfully disguis'd, no one that saw him had the least Jealousie who he was. Her Interest failing, back she brings him safe to his subterraneous Apartment. Here she spends *nine Years* with him, here had two Sons by him, delivered of both, saith *Plutarch*, no otherwise than as a *Lioness* in her *Den*. Nay, tho' during her Pregnancy she made some Excursions to *Rome*, she managed her self so, it was never taken notice of.

§. 5. At length, ⁱ *Sabinus* is betray'd, and carried to *Rome*,

^f Pluta. ch.
^e Plutarch.

ⁿ Plutarch.
ⁱ Dion.

Rome, in order to die. As her last Effort, taking her two Sons with her, she gets admittance to the *Emperor*, and bewailing her Condition, prays him to consider how very dear that *Life* must be to her she had with so much Care and Difficulty preserved, by living in a dismal Solitude under Ground, a Stranger to the *Sun*, and all the common Refreshments of Life, for no less than nine Years running; where, adds she, clasping her Sons in her Arms, without the necessary Helps the Weakness of our Sex requires, I was delivered of these I have brought, not barely to beg a Father's Life, but remain *Hostages* for a Fault it can never be again in his Power to commit.

§. 6. There was something so naturally graceful and moving in her Manner, ^k *Vespasian* and all present heard her with Tears. But upon her being told, the Usurping the Title of *Julius Caesar*, was a Crime too great for Pardon with safety to the State, she let her self loose to all the Disorders of Rage and Despair, ¹ giving the *Emperor* such rude Language, they that pitied her before, cried out, he had no regard for himself or the Majesty of the Empire if he suffered her to live.

§. 7. Hereat she smiled, replying with an undaunted Air, that ^m Death to her, who had lived so long under Ground, was but removing from one dark Room to another; the only Thing she coveted, there to lie eternally confined, rather than with the Light see him on the Throne, who deprived her of all that made Life desirable, or Death uneasy. And accordingly, hard about the Time *Agricola* was sent to Command in *Britain*, she had the melancholy Satisfaction of being Executed with *Sabinus*.

§. 8. Wherewith *Plutarch* seems so touched, he remarks upon it with a Severity beyond what is usual with him; saying,

^k Dion.

¹ Plutarch.

^m Ibid.

saying, that the Death of this Lady, whom he calls *Empona*; *Tacitus*, *Epponina*; and *Dion Cassius*, *Peponilla*; was not only the great Blemish of *Vespasian's* Reign, but the very Bane of his House, the utter Extirpation of the whole *Flavian Race* soon following a Cruelty neither Heaven nor Earth could see without Horror.

§. 9. How this Story hitherto has escaped the Stage it fits so well, and would adorn with proper Scenes, is somewhat singular, considering no one Incident among all the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers comes better attested. For besides the Sketches both in *Tacitus* and *Dion* I have here intermix'd, *Plutarch* (to whom the Whole is in a manner owing) says, under a borrowed Name, that it not only happened in his Time, but that one of the Sons died in *Egypt*, the other he saw himself at *Delphos*, (probably a Priest there, as *Plutarch* was) where, we may believe, he gave him the Relation he is so particular in, as makes the lost Books of *Tacitus* the more regretted, thatⁿ contain'd a Narrative hereof, with a Life and Spirit peculiar to that Author in the rest of his Writings.

ⁿ Sed quibus artibus, latebrisq; vitiam, & insigne Epponinae Uxoriam per novem annos traduxerit [Sabini] simul amicorum ejus Constantiam, & insigne Epponinae Uxoriam exemplum suo loco reddemus. *Tacit. Hist. Lib. 4.*

F I N I S.

